

## Message Text

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TRSE-00 OES-07 ERDA-05 NRC-05 OMB-01 AID-05 /150 W  
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6833

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KARACHI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 6 USUN 4230

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE ALL AFRICAN POSTS;  
OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF

SUBJECT: WEST VETOES AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICAN  
IN SECURITY COUNCIL OCTOBER 31

SUMMARY: US, UK AND FRANCE OCTOBER 31 CAST THREE TRIPLE VETOES  
IN SECURITY COUNCIL AGAINST AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA  
DEALING WITH DETERMINATIO OF CHAPTER VII, WITH AN ARMS EMBARGO,  
AND WITH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS OF COUNCIL THEN  
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INTRODUCED THEIR OWN RESOLUTION FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO.  
TIMING FOR A COUNCIL MEETING ON THE WESTERN DRAFT WILL BE  
DECIDED BY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS NOVEMBER 1. TRIPLE VETOES  
DEEPENED AN ATMOSPHERE AMONG AFRICANS OF FRUSTRATION AND  
DISAPPOINTMENT WITH WESTERN RESPONSE TO CURRENT SITUATION IN  
SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

1. SOMALIA (WARSAMA) OPENED THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA OCTOBER 31 BY STATING THAT MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT CARTER FELL FAR SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THAT ANY MEASURE WHICH WAS LESS THAN FULL CHAPTER VII SANCTIONS WOULD BE INADEQUATE TO CHANGE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. SOMALIA SUPPORTED THE FOUR DRAFT AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS AND ALL DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC EFFORTS TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA.

2. FRG (VON WECHMAR) FAVORED A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AND WOULD BE WILLING TO USE ITS ECONOMIC INFLUENCE TO URGE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE ITS POLICY. FRANCE (LEPRETTE) ALSO STATED ITS SUPPORT FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO.

3. US (YOUNG) STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED SC ACTION ON A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. ON NUCLEAR ARMS: AFRICA SHOULD REMAIN FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD SIGN THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY; NUCLEAR FACILITIES SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION. US POLICY WAS NOT TO EXCLUDE OR ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA BUT TO URGE A CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY THAT WOULD PERMIT IT TO PARTICIPATE IN ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. (SEE USUN 4217 FOR FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S REMARKS).

4. SC PRESIDENT JAIPAL (INDIA) THEN ANNOUNCED A VOTE ON  
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THE FOLLOWING FOUR RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: (FULL TEXT IN PARA 19 ).

S/12309, CONDEMNING APARTHEID;

S/12310, DECLARING APARTHEID AS THE BASIS FOR A CHAPTER VII FINDING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA;

S/12311, CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, INCLUDING LICENSES AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION;

S/12312, CALLING FOR A MANDATORY ECONOMIC EMBARGO.

5. CANADA (BARTON) EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS WERE BEING PUSHED TO A VOTE SINCE THE WESTERN MEMBERS HAD ALREADY ANNOUNCED THEIR SUPPORT FOR A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AND A REVIEW OF ECONOMIC POLICIES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA: THEY HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY COULD NOT GO FURTHER.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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6. US (YOUNG) ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE REMARKS OF  
CANADA AND SAID THAT THE WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS HAD ALREADY  
SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO VETO/OPPOSE THREE OF THE FOUR  
AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. US BELIEVED COUNCIL SHOULD EXPRESS  
ITSELF ON MATTERS WHICH UNITED IT, NOT ON THOSE WHICH  
DIVIDE IT. RECORD OF WESTERN POWERS IN SEEKING CON-  
STRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS  
BEEN VERY GOOD IN 1977, IN PART BECAUSE WESTERN FIVE  
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WERE WORKING TOGETHER. IN PRESSING FOR VOTE ON UNACCEPTABLE  
RESOLUTIONS, SOME WERE NOW SEEKING TO DIVIDE THE FIVE.  
IT WAS CALLOUS AND INSENSITIVE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE  
OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR COUNCIL NOT TO SEND CLEAR, UNAMBIGUOUS

MESSAGE TO VORSTER. NOW THE MESSAGE WOULD BE MIXED  
(FOR FULL TEXT OF YOUNG'S SECOND REMARKS, SEE USUN 4217).

7. LIBYA, BENIN AND MAURITIUS ALL THEN SPOKE IN DEFENSE  
OF THEIR CALL FOR A VOTE. IN THEIR VIEW, THE MESSAGE  
OF THE AFRICAN GROUP WAS CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS -- SUPPORT  
FOR THE FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS. THE AFRICANS UNDER-  
STOOD THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN FIVE. NOW IT WAS TIME  
FOR THE FIVE TO UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT THE UNANOMOUS  
DECISION OF FORTY-NINE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES.

8. THE COUNCIL THEN PROCEEDED TO VOTE: S/12309 WAS  
APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY. S/12310, S/12311 AND S/12312 WERE  
VOTED BY US, UK, AND FRANCE, WITH CANADA AND FRG JOINING  
IN OPPOSITION, AND OTHER TEN VOTING FOR. PRESIDENT THAN  
CALLED A RECESS FOR CONSULTATIONS.

9. IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FIFTEEN IN HIS OFFICES  
PRESIDENT PRESENTED A COMPROMISE RESOLUTION CALLING ONLY  
FOR A CHAPTER VII ARMS EMBARGO (TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S  
PROPOSAL INDENTICAL TO LATER CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION MINUS  
OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE -- SEE PARA 20). AFRICAN MEMBERS  
INSISTED ON TIME TO STUDY PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL. WESTERN  
FIVE WITHDREW TO CONSULT AMONG THEMSELVES.

10. IN COUNSULTATIONS AMONG THE FIVE, IT WAS AGREED THAT  
FIVE COULD NOT ALLOW SESSION TO ADJOURN WITH AT LEAST  
FORMALLY TABLING A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO RESOLUTION,  
IF NOT CALLING FOR A VOTE. FIVE AGREED TO ADD OPERATIVE  
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PARAGRAPH ONE TO PRESIDENT'S DRAFT. CANADA AND FRG  
WOULD APONSOR AMENDED PRESIDENT'S DRAFT ON BEHALF OF THE  
FIVE. WHILE CANADA FRG RESOLUTION WAS BEING TYPED,  
TRANSLATED AND DISTRIBUTED, FIVE LOBBIED ON ITS BEHALF.

11. AFRICANS REMAINED INSISTENT THAT CANADA/FRG RESOLU-  
TION COULD NOT BE VOTED UPON THAT SESSION AND EXPRESSED  
DISAPPOINTMENT, SOME BITTERLY, THAT WESTERN DRAFT STILL  
FELL SHORT OF THEIR EXPECTATIONS. IN PARTICULAR, ITS  
OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE BASED ONE BASED THE CHAPTER VII FINDING,  
NOT ON THE CONDITIONS OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT  
ON THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. (AFRICAN FELT  
THAT THE WESTERN FORMULATION WOULD MAKE IT FAR MORE  
DIFFICULT FOR THE COUNCIL TO PRESS FOR FUTURE SANCTIONS  
IN OTHER AREAS, E.G. INVESTMENT AND TRADE).

12. RETURNING TO FORMAL SESSION, PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED  
SUBMISSION OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION AND NOTED THAT AFRICAN  
REQUEST FOR MORE TIME SEEMED REASONABLE.

13. USSR (TROYANOVSKY) REGRETTED THAT NEGATIVE VOTES OF WESTERN POWERS HAD ONCE AGAIN PUT AN OBSTACLE IN THE PATH OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

14. FRG (VON WECHMAR), IN SUPPORTING CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION, SAID DEBATE THUS FAR HAD SHOWN A CONSENSUS FOR A CHAPTER VII ARMS AMBARGO. CANADA PROPOSED AN ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 3:00 PM NOVEMBER 1.

15. MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) REGRETTED THAT ORIGINAL PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL HAD BEEN "DISFIGURED" BY ADDITION OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ONE. AFRICANS WOULD WANT TO OFFER AMENDMENTS TO CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION. SINCE TERM OF PRESENT SC PRESIDENT EXPIRED OCTOBER 31, MAURITIUS PROPOSED THAT PRESIDENT FOR NOVEMBER (LIBYA-KIKHIA) FIX THE DATE OF THE NEXT MEETING. AFTER PROLONGED DEBATE ON CONFIDENTIAL

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PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, COUNCIL AGREED TO MEET IN CONSULTATION AT 3:00 PM NOVEMBER 1 FOR THE PURPOSE OF FINDING A DATE FOR THE NEXT FORMAL MEETING TO DEAL WITH CANADA/FRG DRAFT.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 6 USUN 4230

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE ALL AFRICAN POSTS;

OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE

16. TUNISIA (MESTIRI) SPEAKING FOR AFRICAN GROUP,  
EXPRESSED "DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT" WITH  
WESTERN VETOS. "THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS," HE SAID, "THAT  
THE FAULT FOR THE PRESENT DIVISION IS NOT OURS (AFRICANS')." "  
HE HOPED WESTERN FIVE WOULD PERMIT AMENDMENTS TO THEIR  
RESOLUTIONS.

17. COMMENT: AFRICANS REMAIN UNIMPRESSED WITH WESTERN  
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FIVE'S AGREEMENT TO A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, EVEN  
THOUGH CANADA/FRG DRAFT OMITTS MOST OF WHAT THEY FOUND  
OBJECTIONABLE TO ORIGINAL WESTERN DRAFT, IN PARTICULAR  
THE SIX/MONTH TIME LIMIT. AFRICANS ARE ANGRY BUT RESIGNED  
TO FAILURE OF WEST TO AGREE TO ECONOMIC AND NUCLEAR SANC-  
TIONS AT THIS TIME. THEY ARE EVEN MORE UPSET, HOWEVER,  
WITH THE WEST'S NARROW APPROACH TO CHAPTER VII (OPERATIVE  
PARAGRAPH ONE OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTION) AND THE ABSENCE  
OF ANY PROVISIONS ON ARMS LICENSING. THESE TWO ELEMENTS  
SEEM CERTAIN TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AMENDMENTS THE  
AFRICANS PROMISED TO OFFER TO THE CANADA/ FRG RESOLUTION.  
ON TOP OF THESE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES, THE AFRICANS  
REMAIN THOROUGHLY MIFFED AT THE PRECEIVED FAILURE OF THE  
WESTERN FIVE SERIOUSLY TO CONSIDER THEIR OWN FOUR RESOLU-  
TIONS. FINALLY AND INEVITABLY, THE FACT OF THREE TRIPLE  
VETOS HAD DEEPENED AN ATMOPHERE OF FRUSTRATION  
BASED ON THE CONCEPTION THAT THE WEST WILL  
NEVER AGREE TO MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN TO END  
APARTHEID THAT AFRICANS VIEW AS BOTH NECESSARY AND RESON-  
ABLE. IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE, THE WEST'S CURRENT REFUSALS  
TO CONSIDER SANCTIONSON TRADE, INVESTMENT AND ARMS  
LICENSING, OR TO AGREE TO CHAPTER VII WORDING THAT WOULD  
MAKE SUCH SANCTIONS MORE PROBABLE, ONLY DEEPEN AFRICAN  
SUSPICION OF WESTERN MOTIVES. WORSE, THE WEST'S (AND

PARTICULARLY THE US') INSISTENCE THAT THE PROPER POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE ONE OF MEASURED RESPONSE, ALWAYS LEAVING THE DOOR OPEN FOR SAG IMPROVEMENTS, FALLS ON AFRICAN EARS DEAFENED BY THEIR OWN RHETORIC AND FRUSTRATION, AND BY THE DEEP-SEATED FEELING THAT THAT CURRENT LEADERS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE BEYOND LISTENING TO REASON.

18. WHILE THINGS WERE ROUGH TONIGHT, THE WESTERN  
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DRAFT HAS NOW BEEN TABLED WITH OUR EXPECTATION THAT, FACED WITH THE CHOICE BETWEEN IT OR NOTHING AT ALL, THE AFRICANS WILL ALLOW IT TO PASS QUICKLY AND RELATIVELY INTACT. WE EXPECT THAT MORE REFLECTION ON THE REAL ADVANTAGES OF WHAT THE WESTERN FIVE HAS AT LAST AGREED TO DO WILL TEMPER THE AFRICAN DISAPPOINTMENT THAT WAS SO EVIDENT TONIGHT.

19. TEXT OF FOUR AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS FOLLOWS:

- A) S/12309
- B) S/12310
- C) S/12311
- D) S/12312

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BENIN, LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA AND MAURITIUS: REVISED DRAFT  
RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 392 (1976), ADOPTED ON 19 JUNE 1976, STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST, AND WANTON KILLINGS OF, THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING SCHOOL CHILDREN AND STUDENTS AND OTHERS OPPOSING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND CALLING UPON THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME URGENTLY TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND TAKE URGENT STEPS TO ELIMINATE APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION,

NOTING WITH DEEP ANXIETY AND INDIGNATION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAS CONTINUED VIOLENCE AND MASSIVE REPRESSION AGAINST THE BLACK PEOPLE AND ALL OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID IN DEFIANCE OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL,  
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GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER REPORTS OF TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE DEATHS OF A NUMBER OF DETAINEES, AS WELL AS THE MOUNTING WAVE OF REPRESSION AGAINST INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NEWS MEDIA SINCE 19 OCTOBER 1977,

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 6 USUN 4230

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE ALL AFRICAN POSTS;

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CONVINCED THAT THE VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAVE GREATLY AGGRAVATED THE SITUATION



IN SOUTH AFRICA AND WILL CERTAINLY LEAD TO VIOLENT CONFLICT  
AND RACIAL CONFLAGRATION WITH SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL  
REPERCUSSIONS,

REAFFIRMING ITS RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE STRUGGLE  
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID  
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AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION,

AFFIRMING THE EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE, IRRESPECTIVE  
OF RACE, COLOUR OF CREED,

MINDFUL OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE  
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTER-  
NATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

1. STRONGLY CONDEMNS THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME  
FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION  
AGAINST THE BLACK PEOPLE, WHO CONSTITUTE THE GREAT  
MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER OPPONENTS  
OF APARTHEID;

2. EXPRESSES ITS SUPPORT FOR, AND SOLIDARITY WITH, ALL  
THOSE STRUGGLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID  
AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ALL VICTIMS OF VIO-  
LENCE AND REPRESSION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME;

3. DEMANDS THAT THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA:  
(A) END VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE BLACK  
PEOPLE AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID;  
(B) RELEASE ALL PERSONS IMPRISONED UNDER ARBITRARY SECURITY  
LAWS AND ALL THOSE DETAINED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID;

(C) CEASE FORTHWITH ITS INDISCRIMINATE VIOLENCE  
AGAINST PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS AGAINST APARTHEID,  
MURDERS IN DETENTION AND TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS;

(D) ABOGATE THE BANS ON ORGANIZATIONS AND THE NEWS  
MEDIA OPPOSED TO APARTHEID;  
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(E) ABOLISH THE "BANTU EDUCATION" SYSTEM AND ALL OTHER MEASURES  
OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION;

(F) ABLISH THE POLICY OF BANTUSTANIZATION, ABANDON THE POLICY OF APARTHIED AND ENSURE MAJORITY RULE BASED ON JUSTICE AND EQUALITY;

4. REQUESTS ALL GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE;

5. FURTHER REQUESTS ALL GOVERNMENTS AND ORGINIZATIONS TO CONTRIBUTE GENEROUSLY FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION, INCLUDING EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO STUDENT REFUGEES FROM SOUTH AFRICA;

6. REQUESTS THE SECURITY-GENERAL, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION AND REORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AS APPROPRIATE, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION, AND TO SUBMIT A FIRST REPORT NOT LATER THA 17 FEBRUARY 1978.

17OTE

BENIN, LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA AND MAURITIUS: REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE,

REAFFIRMING THAT THE IMPOSITION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE MASSIVE VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION BY THE RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE GREAT MAJORITY OF  
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THE POPULATION IS SERIOUSLY DISTURBING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

NORING THAT THE SOUTH AFRICA RACIST REGIME CONTINUES ILLEGALLY TO OCCUPY THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA IN DEFIANCE OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND HAS, IN PARTICULAR, FAILED TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 385 (1976),

CONSIDERING THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME CONTINUES TO OCCUPY NAMIBIA ILLEGALLY AND THROUGH ITS MILITARY OCCUPATION FORCEFULLY PREVENTS THE UNITED NATIONS FROM EXERCISING ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TERRITORY AND PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND, HENCE IS IN A STATE OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED NATIONS,

RECALLING RESOLUTIONS 387 (1976) AND 393 (1976), IN

WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS CONDEMNED THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
RACIST REGIME FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REP-  
UBLIC OF ANGOLA AND THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA, RESPECTIVELY,

NOTING THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME HAS FAILED TO  
IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF RESOLUTIONS 387 (1976) AND 393 (1976),

RECOGNIZING THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAS  
CONTINUED TO ASSIST THE ILLEGAL RACIST MINORITY REGIME  
IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA IN DEFIANCE OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS AND IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF  
ARTICLE 25 OF THE CHARTER,

CONSIDERING THAT THESE ACTS OF VIOLENCE, AGGRESSION AND DEFIANCE  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME  
HAVE RESULTED FROM ITS EFFORTS TO PERPETUATE THE INHUMAN  
POLICY OF APARTHEID AND CONSOLIDATE OPPRESSION OF THE  
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BLACK MAJORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA,

1, DECLARES THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAS FLA-  
GRANTLY AND PERSISTENTLY VIOLATED THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED  
IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS;

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AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 6 USUN 4230

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE ALL AFRICAN POSTS;

OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE

2. FURTHER DECLARES THAT THE POLICIES AND ACTIONS OF  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME HAVE SERIOUSLY DISTRUVED  
PEACE IN THE REGION AND CONSTITUTE A GRAVE THREAT  
TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;

3. URGENTLY CALLS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME TO  
TAKE STEPS TO COMPLY WITH ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CHARTER  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE RELEVANT  
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RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL;

4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION  
AND REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION NOT LATER  
THAN 17 FEBRUARY 1978;

5. DECIDES THAT, IN CASE OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARAGRAPH 3  
OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHALL CONSIDER  
APPROPRIATE ACTION UNDER ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER,  
INCLUDING ARTICLE 39 TO 46 OF CHAPTER VII.

QUOTE

BENIN, LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA AND MAURITIUS; REVISED  
DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

TAKING NOTE OF RESOLUTION 31/6 D, ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
ON 9 NOVEMBER 1976,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST  
SOUTH AFRICA,

EXPRESSING ITS REGRET THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS HAVE FAILED  
TO IMPLEMENT THE ARMS EMBARGO FULLY,

RECONGIZING THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO MUST BE  
STRENGTHENED AND UNIVERSALLY APPLIED, WITHOUT ANY RESERVATION  
OR QUALIFICTIONS WHATSOEVER, IN ORDER TO PREVENT A  
FURTHER AGGRAVATION OF THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA,

TAKING NOTE OF THE LAGOS DECLARATION FOR ACTION AGAINST  
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APARTHIED (S/12426),

FRAVELY CONCERNED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS AT THE THRESHOLD OF  
PRODUCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS,

ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

RECONGNIZING THAT THE MILITARY BUILD-UP AND PERSISTENT  
ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME  
AGAINST THE NEIGHBOURING STATES POSE A GRAVE THREAT  
TO THE SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES  
AND OT THE SECURITY OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF  
SOUTH AFRICA,

1. DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALL CEASE FORTHWITH THE SALE  
AND SHIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA OF ARMS, AMMUNITIONS OF ALL  
TYPES AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND VEHNICLES, AND EQUIPMENT  
AND MATERIALS FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS,  
AMMUNITION AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND VEHICLES;

2. CALLS ON ALL STATES TO TAKE MEASURES TO REVOKE CON-  
TRACTURAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND ALL EXISTING  
LICENSES GRANTED TO SOUTH AFRICA RELATING TO THE MANUFACTURE  
AND MAINTANCES OF ARMS, AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES AND MILITARY  
EQUIPMENT AND VEHICLES;

3. FURTHER DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALLC  
(A) FULLY IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 4 OF  
RESOLUTION 282 (1970),  
ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 23 JULY 1970, FOR THE  
STREGTHENING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO;

(B) REFRAIN FROM ANY CO-OPERATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST  
REGIME IN NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT;

(C) TAKE NECESSARY STEPS TO PREVENT CORPORATIONS UNDER  
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THEIR JURISDICTION FROM PROVIDING ANY FORM OF DIRECT OR  
INDIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN ITS  
MILITARY BUILD-UP;

4. REQUEST ALL STATES TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY-GENERAL  
NOT LATER THAN 1 APRIL 1978 ON MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT  
THE PRESENT RESOLUTION;

5. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION,  
THE FIRST REPORT TO BE MADE NOT LATER THAN 1 MAY 1978;

6. DECIDES TO MAINTAIN THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER  
ACTION AS APPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6838  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KARACHI IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 6 OF 6 USUN 4230

DEPARTMENT PASS IMMEDIATE ALL AFRICAN POSTS;

OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE

QUOTE

BENIN, LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA AND MAURITIUS: REVISED DRAFT  
RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

CONSIDERING THAT THE CESSATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN  
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SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER MEASURES TO DISCOURAGE ECONOMIC CO-  
OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT  
STEP IN DISSUADING THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME FROM  
PURSUING ITS ABHORRENT POLICY OF APARTHEID,

TAKING NOTE OF RESOLUTION 31/6 K ADOPTED BY THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 9 NOVEMBER 1976,

1. CALL UPON ALL GOVERNMENTS:

(A) TO REFRAIN FROM ANY INVESTMENTS IN, LOANS TO ,  
OR ANY EXPORT AND IMPORT CREDITS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST  
REGIME TO COMPANIES REGISTERED IN SOUTH AFRICA;

(B) TO TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT  
COMPANIES AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THEIR  
JURISDICTION CEASE ALL FURTHER INVESTMENTS IN, OR LOANS  
TO, THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME OR COMPANIES REGISTERED  
IN SOUTH AFRICA;

(C) TO REFRAIN FROM ANY AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES TO PROMOTE  
TRADE OR OTHER ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA;

2. FURTHER CALLS UPON ALL THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND  
OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO  
REFRAIN FROM ANY LOANS, CREDITS OR ASSISTANCE TO THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN RACIST REGIME OR COMPANIES REGISTERED IN SOUTH  
AFRICA;

3. REQUESTS ALL STATE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR OF  
THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL BY  
1 APRIL 1978 ON MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE  
PRESENT RESOLUTION;  
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4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE FIRST REPORT TO BE MADE NOT LATER THAN 1 MAY 1978;

5. DECIDES TO MAINTAIN THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER ACTION AS APPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.

20. TEXT OF CANADA/FRG RESOLUTIONS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

CANADA AND GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF: DRAFR RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 393 (1976) STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST AND KILLINGS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING SCHOOLCHILDREN AND STUDENTS AND OTHERS OPPOSING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND CALLING UPON THAT GOVERNMENT URGENTLY TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AND TO TAKE URGENT STEPS TO ELIMINATE APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION,

GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER THE SEVERE ACTS OF REPRESSION PERPETRATED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON 19 OCTOBER 1977 IN BANNING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSED TO APARTHEID AND STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND IN DETAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF PERSONS WITHOUT TRIAL IN DISREGARD OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS,

STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS ACTS OF REPRESSION, ITS DEFIANT CONTINUANCE OF THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND ITS ATTACKS AGAINST NEIGHBORING INDEPENDENT  
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STATES,

CONSIDERING THAT THE POLICIES AND ACTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ARE FRAUGHT WITH DANGER TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 181 (1963) AND OTHER RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING A VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA,



CONVINCED THAT A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO NEEDS TO BE UNIVERSALLY  
APPLIED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE FIRST INSTANCE,

ACTING THEREFORE UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS,

1. DETERMINES, HAVING REGARD TO THE POLICIES AND ACTS OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THAT THE ACQUISITION BY  
SOUTH AFRICA OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIAL CONSTITUTES A  
THREAT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;

2. DIRECTS ALL STATES TO CEASE FORTHWITH ANY PROVISION OF ARMS  
TO SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THE SALE AND TRANSFER OF  
ARMS, AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES, MILITARY VEHICLES, AND EQUIP-  
MENT AND MATERIAL FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS  
AND AMMUNITION; PARAMILITARY POLICE EQUIPMENT; AND SPARE  
PARTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED;

3. CALLS UPON ALL STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO  
ACT STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION;

4. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON  
THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE FIRST  
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REPORT TO BE SUBMITTED NOT LATER THAN 1 MAY 1978;

5. DECIDES TO KEEP THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER ACTION, AS  
APPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009